

The University of Chicago

THE LANGUAGE OF THE SCRIBES OF
THE OXFORD MANUSCRIPT
HATTON 82 (PERLESVAUS)

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED
TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF
THE HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

1933

By

HENRY LEON ROBINSON

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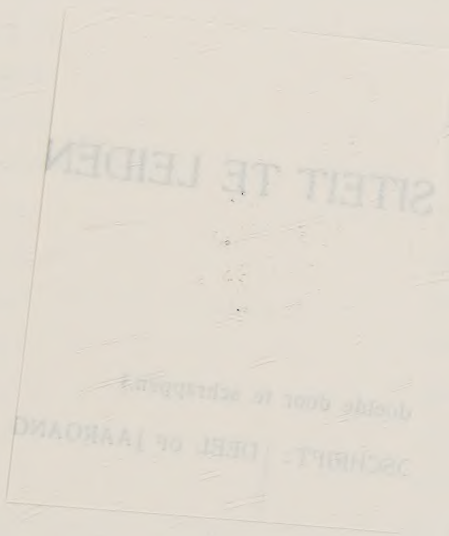
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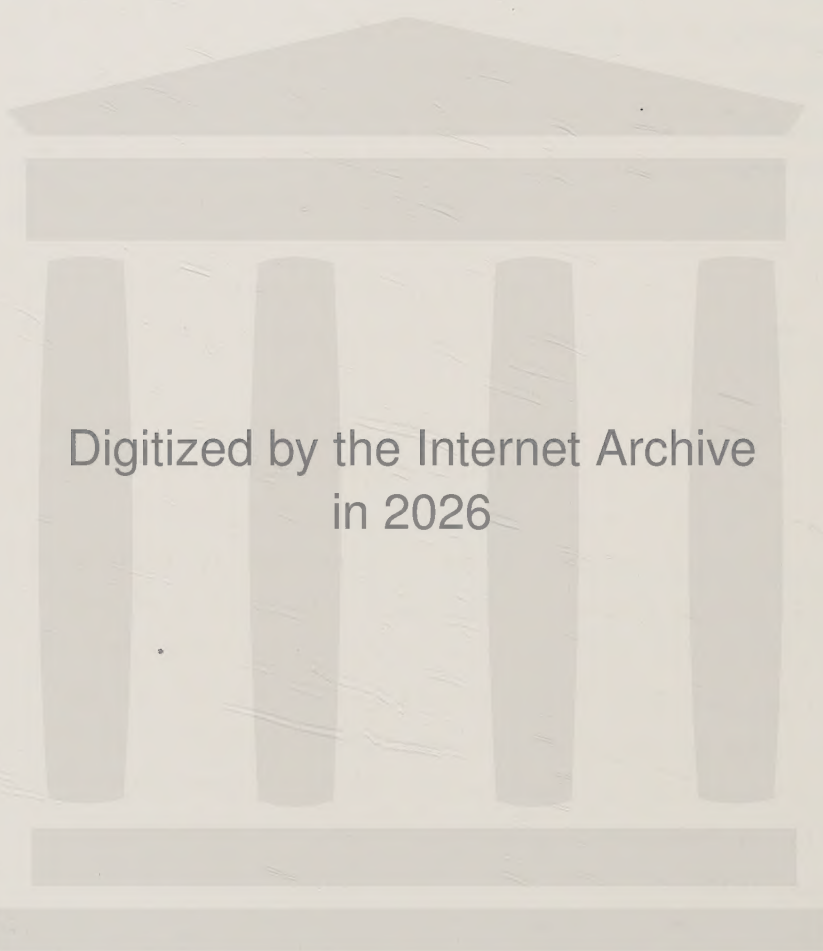
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PREFACE

The object of this study is to list the dialectal traits of the Oxford MS Hatton 82 (Perlesvaus); to indicate, when possible, their geographical limits; and to determine, as closely as the evidence permits, the provenience of the MS.

When there is more than one spelling for a given word or development, the number of occurrences has been noted; significant single occurrences have also been indicated. The following signs are used:

* after line number = single occurrence in the scribe

(+4) after line number = four more examples of the same spelling

(+4+14) after line number = four more examples of the same spelling and fourteen examples of a different form of the same word (e.g., herbegier, herbegiez)

The words cited are given according to the text of the Nitze and Jenkins edition (Chicago [1932])--i.e. with i and y, accents, etc., but not letters introduced by the editors; all forms and spellings have been checked against (a photostat of) the MS.

The present study is a revision and abridgment of the author's University of Chicago dissertation, written under the direction of Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins, and presented in August, 1933.

CONSPECTUS OF THE SCRIBES

The Oxford MS was copied by eight or nine scribes, whose work is distributed as follows:

Scribe I copied folios 1 to 16, 47, and 86 to 88b. These include lines 1 to 2005 (last word Uns), 5671 (after damoisele) to 5795 (through dont), 9930 (after venist se-) to 10192; total: 2391 lines of the text, or 23 1/2 per cent of the whole.

Scribe II copied folios 17 to 18b, 12. These include lines 2005 (after Uns) to 2167 (through traiz); total: 162 lines of the text, or 1 1/2 per cent of the whole.

Scribe III copied folios 18b, 12 to 24, also 48, 65 to 73, and 80-81. These include lines 2167 (after traiz) to 2948 (through maniere), 5795 (after dont) to 5916 (through pool-ent), 7625 (after veillera) to 8553 (through chargiez), 9225 (after enfant) to 9452 (through Gavain); total: 2057 lines, or 20 per cent of the whole.

Scribe IV copied folios 25 to 30b, also 30c, 13 to 40. These include lines 2948 (after maniere) to 3651 (through demanda) and 3658 (after del mont [qui vive]) to 4928 (through ocis); total: 1973 lines, or 19 1/2 per cent of the whole.

Scribe IV^{bis}. Towards the end of the first of the two gatherings copied by Scribe IV, there is a short passage of only eight (printed) lines, which is apparently in a different hand: folio 30c, 1-13, or lines 3651 (after demanda) to 3658 (through del mont [qui vive]). This scribe forms his g differently, writes sunt (unknown to IV), and makes an unusually great number of errors. It is fairly certain, therefore, that this passage does not represent merely a change of pen.

Scribe V copied folios 41 to 46. These include lines 4928 (after ocis) to 5671 (through damoisele); total: 743 lines, or 7 1/2 per cent of the whole.

Scribe VI copied folios 49 to 64. These include lines 5916 (after pool-ent) to 7625 (through veillera); total: 1709 lines, or 17 per cent of the whole.

Scribe VII copied folios 74 to 79. These include lines 8553 (after chargiez) to 9225 (through enfant); total: 672 lines, or 6 1/2 per cent of the whole.

Scribe VIII copied folios 82 to 85. These include lines 9452 (after Gavain) to 9330 (through venist se-); total: 478 lines, or 4 1/2 per cent of the whole.

PHONOLOGY

Latin A

-ALIS>-ier: I cruier (CRUD-ALIS) 102, 1741, 5683; VIII cruier 9698, quier (QUALIS) 9847. This development is probably not dialectal.¹

-IATA>-ie: IV mesnie 3203 (+25); V aiedies 5004 (+2); VI amenuisie 6004; VII sachie 8635; VIII croissie 9616 (+1). This reduction indicates particularly the North and East.²

I has only one example of reduction: esfacie 699; II has -iee only; III has only one example of reduction: respitie 5801-- followed by a word beginning with e; IV has four examples of -iee, e.g. bessiee 2961, and also an inverse spelling: prae-riees 3630; V has fifteen examples of -iee, e.g. desconseil-lee 4964--cf. also foiees 5226*; VI and VII have -ie always; VIII has nine examples of -iee, e.g. esloigniee 9461. The following verb forms show reduction of -iee from other sources: II asient 2126; III sient 2378, asient 2418, 2766, dechient 2862; IV chient 3452, assient 3746; VI chient 6484, 7161, r'asient 6488, asient 6856. Cf. also puent (*POTENT) III 7760, IV 4429, V 5322.

ai has been reduced to a in IV viare 2983*; VI viare 6357*, mas 6995*; and in verb endings: IV demorera 3410 (+2), josta 4742; V trouva 4941*; VI aprocha 6040 (+1). This reduction is Picard-Walloon and Eastern.³

IV also has viaire 4612 and VI has viaire(s) 6433 (+4) and mais 5956 et passim. A single case of reduction in III: rendra 8363 is doubtful; MSS Br and P read rendroie. VI has an example of reduction in pretonic position: braoit 5924; also an inverse spelling: aierdent 7558.

AN^C>en: I en (ANNU) 915 (+5), enme (ANIMA) 176*, Jehen 573 (+1); VIII en (ANNU) 9700*. This trait is Central and Eastern.⁴

¹VT, §61.

³Chev., pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.

²Auc., §28; G III, 16-17.

⁴GG, map IX.

The same scribes write an in the same words: I anz 24 (+14), ame 181 (+5) and ames 5762*, Jehans 1718 (+2); VIII anz 9834*, Cravente I 10018*, etc. is an inconclusive word. En for an in pretonic position is noteworthy in mengier I 79 et passim (MS mēgier 591, mgier 616). Note also aengree (*AD-ANCORATA) I 10151*.

Final feminine e is wanting in I hont 341, ferme 1024, cest 10008; III un 2347, plui 2493, mort 7693, sieu 8004, faudroi 8517, espe 9258; V espris 5139, port 5351; VI mer 7269; VIII gete 9707. These early examples of the effacement of final a point to the Northeast and East;¹ this phenomenon is also characteristic of Anglo-Norman.²

Entre I 1012, III 2332, 2805, 2833 is uncertain; it may represent entre[e], entre[r], or entre (INTRATU?). Some of the scribes apparently avoid writing three consecutive e's; hence the following: II vee 2086; III esfree 7681; IV voe 3675 (followed by en), esfree 4017; V esfree 5496, 5502. Chevaleri I 1118 and portoi VI 7247 occur before a following e. Elision probably accounts for cel I 5780, 5790; icel II 2009; cest IV 4477, VI 7364; bon VI 6759; and probably also pareil III 5870, damoiseil III 9294; port VII 8846. Haut IV 4388 may be a further case: the MS reads ceste haut estoire. The following are due to the lack of fixed rules of agreement: garanti III 5897, pené III 8486, mis III 8527; demoré IV 4606; deserité V 5120; aviroonné VI 5940. Delivre I 10098 should read delivree (MS deliŕe). Souffroit VIII 9634 is due to the uncertainty of the gender of isle. Mit (=mie) IV 4817 is probably a scribal error. Giet I 1173 is a text error; the MS reads giete. Un III 2236, 8518 may be masculine; cf. fax ymages III 8537V; nus isles VII 8555 (cf. also V 5094; VIII 9670). The MS is blurred at V 5008; it appears to read icele pite. Aport III 7911 may be for aporte; MSS Br and P read aporta.

Ai>e or remains. The scribes differ in their practice: VI writes ai without exception; VII writes ai with only three exceptions--fet 3x beside fait 103x; III favors ai; II and V have ai and e in approximately equal proportions; I, IV, and VIII favor e. In any case, the reduction of ai to e, which predominates, excludes Picard-Walloon.³

N'ê VI 6881 should read ne. A few examples of ei are found: feit VIII 9640 (+2); also feisoit II 2147, and veissiax I 10152. Breit IV 3121 (abbreviated bŕt) should read braît

¹Pope, §273.

³Auc., §9; Poème moral, §6.

²Pope, §1133.

as at 3120, and leisé 3139 should read lessé (so MS). Re-graite II 2060 is possibly an inverse spelling. Aiedies V 5004 is peculiar: the ie of the tonic syllable may have influenced the spelling of the initial syllable. Lisiez V 5529 must be a scribal error.

The reduction of ie (<free tonic A preceded by a palatal) to e occurs in the following words: Pescherres III 2407, 2609, chef III 8209; ficher VI 7517; commencerent VIII 9604. This reduction is Norman and Anglo-Norman or Eastern.¹---ARIA>-ire in litire IV 4267 (+5), VI 7005* beside litiere IV 4459*, VI 6998*. This reduction is essentially Walloon-Lorrain, according to Fletcher,² but also occurs in Picard and is common in the Southeast.³---Ai>ei before n' in I: Breteingne 20, Breteigne 60, 541, monteigne 1007, gaeing 1206; also loitegne IV 4905. Pretonic ai>ei, e, i, before l' and n' sporadically. Note also in III: aguison 9274* and acheson 8061* beside achaison 2487*.---A + nasal>ei once and oi twice in IV: eim 3795, semoine 3933 (so MS), germoine 3018 beside the usual ai: aim 3491, germaine 3573. These forms occur together in the Southeast.⁴---Chausteax VI 5967* is probably a scribal error (note Chasteaux in the same line): the aus of the initial syllable is probably an anticipation of the aus (ax) of the tonic syllable. See Goerlich for similar cases.⁵---Ovec VIII 9577 looks like a cross between avec and o (APUD).

Latin Ē and Ē

Ē followed by l' (MĒLIUS, MĒLIOR) remains without exception in III: meuz 2574 (+23), meudres 2390 (+1); with a single exception in IV: meuz 3027 (+10), melz 3574*, mez 4656*, meulz 2955 (+11) beside mieu 4393*, also meldres 3055*, meudre(s) 3325 (+4); and frequently in I: melz 922 (+5), meldres 1089 (+1) beside mielz 278 (+17), miez 10011*, mieldres 474 (+5). This trait is Northeastern and Eastern, but also occurs in Burgundian.⁶ Ē + l'>ie without exception in II, VI, VII, and VIII. In V ea

¹Lais, p. lxxxvi; Bestiaire, p. 11; G III, 15.

²Voeux, §38.

³Auc., §26; G III, 47.

⁴G III, 18.

⁵Ibid., 38.

⁶Pope, §412; G III, 45; Romania, XXXIX (1910), 514.

occurs beside ie: meaudres 4975 (+2), mielres 5216*, mielz 5187 (+9); cf. ceaus (CAELOS) V 4963.

Quert IV 4496 is written q̄rt in the MS, hence it is not certain; cf. quiert IV 4552 (spelled out in the MS). Venent III 8547*, IV 4526* is perhaps a scribal slip. Melt I 653 should have been read melz, and melz V 5289 should have been read mielz.

-ELLUS>-iaus (iax) in I, II, III, VII, and VIII. This development is essentially Northern, Northeastern, and Champenois.¹ IV, V, and VI have -caus (eax, eaux, cauz). According to Suchier, iaus and caus alternate in Central French.²

Chastiaux IV 3979* (cf. viautres IV 4414*); chaiaus V 5497*, VI 5979* show that -iaus is indeed sporadic everywhere. Note also chasteax VIII 9824*. Crenaus VI 6212*, with -caus reduced, is peculiar.³

The most remarkable feature of II, IV, and V is their spelling of the product of free tonic E. Beside the usual oi, oe [=we?] occurs frequently and oie and e occasionally. A few examples follow:

oe: II soet 2121*; IV façoez 3049*; V pouoer (=pooir) 5575*.
oie: II benoiez(?) 2114*; IV sooiet 3635* beside soet 3889*,
sooit 4013*, and soet 4013*; V oier (HERES) 5211*.
e: V pouet (=pooit) 4955 (+1), oiseent (=issoient) 5319*, pet (=ooit) 5499*; cf. also VII feble 8608*.

Goerlich and Wilmotte found numerous examples of oe and oie in the documents which they studied.⁴

Three other unusual spellings for the product of free tonic E may be noted here: eoi in treeoient II 2140* and veneoie IV 4481*; oio in osoiet IV 4923*; and eu in tenseut (=tensoit) IV 3278*. --Proviere II 2148 must be a scribal error; cf. laisir VI 6444. --Voer (VIDERE) IV 3168 (+20) is interesting. It probably developed as follows: veoir>vooir>vooer>voer. Veoir occurs always in I and VII, and occurs beside vooir in VI and VIII; vooir occurs always in III (veoir 2846 and 8320 are text errors; the MS reads vooir); voer occurs always in

¹Pope, §540; Auc., §24; Chrétien, p. 220.

²VT, §58a.

³VT, §58b; G III, 49.

⁴G III, 60; Romania, XVII (1888), 557; XVIII (1889), 214 f.; XIX (1890), 77 f.

IV; voier in V is a variant of voer; II has no examples. In general, SEDERE developed similarly; but cf. seoir III 9269 beside sooir III 2377. Note also benoite III 2251 and benoete IV 3674. The imperfect of seoir in IV attests all the phases of the development suggested above: seoit 4013*, sooit 4013*, sooet 3889*, soet 2962 (+2), societ 3635*.

Oi>o. There are a few scattered examples of this reduction: I dovent 11 (cf. connostre 699, bos 1321); III so 7782; IV oo 3010, guerro 3208, ros 4004, vo 4505 (cf. enmonent 3530); V Ros 5277, pouor (=pooir) 5359; VI descovrent (=descoivrent) 6224. This reduction is Picard-Walloon and Eastern.¹

Intertonic oi>o in I: damosele 409, 703 (so MS); cf. chosist 204, 10075; also chosit II 2037. Oient I 432 (=oent 10)<AUDIUNT or is analogical to oi<AUDIO. Oient is also the correct reading at VI 6501; the emendation is unnecessary. Destreiz V 5622 is probably a scribal error for destreinz (omission of the overstroke); cf. esteinz V 5400. MS P reads destrains. The analogical past participle must be assumed as the alternative to a single example in the MS of E>ei. MS Br, however, reads destroiz (DESTRICUS?). Descovrent VI 6224 may be a scribal confusion with descovrir. Mireor (=mireoir) VIII 9473 is a parallel to oi<E>o. Lavoer (=laveoir) VIII 9592 is either a reduction of oi to o followed by metathesis of the vowels or is a further case of the development eoir>ooir>ooer>oer.

E + nasal>ain in all the scribes except V, who writes ein. The confusion of ein and ain is not dialectal.²

Exceptions: none in II, III, and VII; pleine I 5714; ameine VI 7528 (peine VI 6620 is a text error; the MS reads paine). IV favors oin but also writes ain and exceptionally esteindre 3517 and empegnent 4852; this multiplicity of forms with oin predominating is Burgundian.³ Mene V 5574 is analogical; mendre V 5495 (so MS) is isolated. Chapelein VII 8930 is an inverse spelling.--CATENA gives a variety of forms: chaene IV 3136, VII 9071 (+2)--cf. deschaene VI 6156; chaenne VI 6179, VIII 9596 (+1); chaaine I 1693; chaainne I 1953, 9940; chaîne VII 9071; chaane VIII 9617 (+1); chaanne VIII 9606 (+2). The relation of these forms is probably as follows: CATENA>chaene>*chaaine>chaaine>chaane (cf. endeman I 488) or chaîne (=chaïne). Similar developments are shown by the forms in which E is atonic. In connection with enchaane I 1692, 5752, cf. vilanement V 5478, 5565 and prouchanement V 5205. Deschaignez V 5351 is peculiar.

¹Chev., p. xxxix; Poème moral, §14a; G III 58-59; SB, §229R.

²VT, §45b.

³G III, 63.

--ILLUS>-aus (ax, aux) in III, IV, and VI; VII writes aus (ax) and ex (els); I writes ex (eus, els); and II, V, and VIII write els. $\bar{E} + 1$ (<1') as in SOLICULUS and CONSILIIET shows a parallel development: I soleuz 592, conseut 347; III solaus 2352, consaut 2278; etc. Aus (and variants) is in the main Northern and Eastern.¹

In IV at 5991, 6197, 6249, 6425, 6466, and 7388, the MS reads deaus. Is this de aus or d'aus? The latter is supported by 6249; 7 saus; note also daux at 7077 and 7492. This spelling (saus) for ILLUS probably arose from ceaus 5934 (+13) with ce indicating soft c. There is one example of eus at 6610; it is a later addition--by the corrector? Cels 6316 is isolated. --PILOS behaves as though checked: paus III 2722; pels VI 6696. Vermoil IV 3968* stands alone beside vermel 3042 (+3), conseil 4882*, consel 3027 (+6).

EN ($\bar{E}$ and $\bar{E}$)^c > en, an. I, VII, and VIII favor an. Examples: I tans 726 (+7), gens 1986 and genz 1877; II senble 2019, ansamble 2119; III argent 2171, fame 2170; IV tens 3000 (+16), tans 3034 (+3); V dedenz 4945, sanz 5047; VI emsemble 5941 (+1+5), emsamble 6496 (+1+1); VII tans 8682 (+2), tens 8569*; VIII coman- demanz 9508, tens 9893. This trait is Central and Eastern.²

The only example of an in tonic position in V is orient 4962, an inconclusive word. Note nanil III 2627. Infer VI 5963 is probably learned; cf. emfer VI 6015.

$\bar{E}$ checked > ie in rechiet (RE-CĒPTU) II 2032*. This is a Picard-Walloon trait, but it is the only example in the entire MS and occurs after a palatal. The same scribe writes recet 2037, 2048.-- $\bar{E} + 1$ > ie in a few scattered examples: sogiet (SUBJECTU) III 2224; piez (PECTUS) IV 4102 beside piz 2979 (+2) and pis 3376--note that piez (PĒDES) occurs two lines above (in the MS); nie (NĒCET) III 2495 is analogical and modern (from nier for noier); priet IV 3613 is analogical; priet VI 6883 is apparently a hybrid form (priet + prie). Giete I 1173 (so MS), III 2916, 5846 is an uncertain word. This development is sporadic in the Southeast.⁴--LEUCA(S) > leus(s) in IV 4202 (+2); the other scribes write liue(s). LEUCA-ATA > louee VI 5925*.--Giues (JUDAEOS) III 2171 is pos-

¹SB III, §2; cf. also VI, §59b.

²GG, map IX.

³SB III, §5.

⁴G III, 52-53; Végèce, §§62-63.

sibly a learned form parallel to Dé (DEUM).¹--Nae I 637, 916 is puzzling; the usual form is naie (705) or naie (NON EGO> nen ie>nan ie).--ECCLESIA(S)>iglise(s) II 2x, III 2x, V 1x, VI 2x, beside eglise I 3x.--E+n'>ai in III: e.g. saige (SIG-NAT) 2305 and VI: e.g. ensaigne 7099. Cf. also ensaigiez III 2299 and saigniez VI 6696, also saignor (ai<E+n') 6257* beside seignor(s) 5959 (+33); III always writes saignor 2192 (+31), yet monsignor 7754*.--Note orilles IV 3108 beside orelles IV 3704.--Peculiar to VIII is ai for pretonic oi: laiax 9467, laial 9668, 9873, laiauté 9482, raiax 9584; cf. naient 9481 beside noient 9785. Inverse spellings: oie 9500 (=aie 9498), souffroitouse 9631 (+1+1), oi (=ai; so MS P) 9682, joianz (GIGANTES) 9838, 9839, oir 9880; also praiera II 2086 and possibly raïne II 2162, 2165. Parallels are not numerous; Godefroy cites a few cases (laiauté, naient -z, raiautez).--Manecier V 5262 is a curious case of metathesis of the vowels.--Vraie(s) occurs in I 777 (+3) and VI 6273*.

Latin Ī

There are a few scattered examples of ie for i: I escrie-ent 1894; III ocierre 2749, 9250 beside ocire 2692 (+2+3), and cf. ocierrai 2892 and ocierra 5808, 9289; VI fierent 6797 beside firent 5962 (+5), delievrent 7049 beside delivre 7077 and delivres 7353. Cf. also IV desierier 3863 beside desirier 3761 (+3+4) and desire 4264. This development is parallel to Central French cierge and vierge.² It has been noted in the Roman de la Rose II³ and in Southeastern documents.⁴ This is an inverse spelling, according to Foerster (if ie>i, then ie may be written for i).⁵

Ieroit I 10177 is difficult. MS Br reads iroient. Perhaps the MS should be read i eroit (erroit).

Latin Ū and Ū

ŪCULOS has various spellings in the MS: I ielz 81 (+4); III ieuz 2444 (+5); IV euz 3224 (+1); V elz 5350 (+1); VI eus

¹Meyer-Lübke, I, §278; VT, §22.

²VT, §18c.

³Vol. I, p. 267.

⁴G III, 78.

⁵Chev., p. xxxvii.

6147 (+5) and iels 6694 (+1); VII lex 8831 and iels 9103. In reality, only two forms are represented; viz., eus and ieus, for i and u before a consonant, and final s and z are interchangeable. The first of the two forms is Picard and the other is Central French.¹ The nominative plural is spelled oieil I 381 and oil III 7726, IV 2990.

LÖCUS>leus (lex, leur) in II, III, IV, V, and VIII; lius in VI and VII; and both in I. The first of the two forms is Eastern but frequent in the literary language and the other is Norman-Anglo-Norman and Picard-Walloon.²

FÖCUS shows a parallel development, but note in VI fou 6029 (+5), fou 6411, fu 7511--there are no examples of the nominative singular; also leu 7279 beside liu 6213 (+14). Fu IV 3527 is not certain; is it FÖCU or an error for fu[stes]?

Note oe(<Q) in foerre(s) II 2010 (+4).--Ue(<Q)>e in avec usually; this is regular in Central French.³ Other such reductions are: I gelt (CÖLLIGIT) 1306; IV ienes 3560 beside jone 3562 (+2) and joenes 4053 (cf. gene V 5491 but jone VI 6108, VIII 9558, 9678); culevres VI 5997. Aresté II 2092 is uncertain; the usual spelling in Old French is arestuel.--Deus (DÖLUS) III 7808 and seut (SÖLET) III 8109 are reductions of a triphthong.--Prodoume VI 7315 is apparently correct; the MS reads pdoume.--Q+1>ui, but there are a few examples of oi, none of which are conclusive: coivre (CÖPREU?) I 663 (+2), III 2365, 8542, VI 5953*, but also Quevre (*CÖPRU?) VI 5922 (+10)--II 2140 has keure with coiure written over it; voiz (*VÖCITUS) III 2864, IV 3148; voit IV 4624, 4633, 4907; voide III 2863, 8133, VI 6067, 6655 beside vides I 5712; uide VIII 9860; uide VI 6658 (cf. wide VII 8631). Coite VI 6436 beside quite VI 6455, 6704 is disturbing, because it appears to be an inverse spelling and implies that oi=ui.--Quemune II 2097 is unique in the MS.--Note oucure V 5059: s occasionally falls before a consonant in V and pretonic ou is more frequent than o in V; cf. oudor 5098. Note also poutiz III 8396 beside postiz 8387, 8398.--Joier II 2122 is a scribal error, if it is not due to the influence of joie or the -ier infinitive ending.

¹VT, §67; Auc., §29.

²VT, §320; Auc., Glossary; Poème moral, §23; Chrétien, p. 211; Psalter, §42; G III, 84; Yzopet, §42.

³SB, §245; VT, §280.

ō>eu, o, and occasionally ou in the word joious; eu is Central and Northern.¹

ō checked>eu in I 7x, e.g. geurt (CÜRRT) 723.

ō checked+nasal>un in V and VI. Some of the words involved are learned: V munde 4975*, columbes(?) 5212*; VI columbes(?) 5924*, habundance 5949 (+2), corrumpue 6273*, columbe(?) 7386 (+6). There remain, however: V sun 4934 (+62), mun 4974 (+24) beside mon 5555* [cf. Munseignor 5472 (+3)], sunt 4984 (+11); VI confundu 5930*, sunt 5953 (+13), funt 7006*. Although perhaps more prevalent in Anglo-Norman than elsewhere, this spelling is found over a wide territory.²

IV writes enbrunchier 3224*. VI writes only sunt or st' (transcribed sont in the text); font always, except at 7006; ont always. Sunt is, therefore, probably learned, not dialectal. VI also has one example of i'un 6602 for i'on (HOMO).--Intertonic ə<A has been absorbed in hiatus with the tonic vowel in desfendeur IV 3465* and veneur V 5298* (cf. usse I 411*). Guereeor V 5334 is an inverse spelling or a scribal error (cf. escrieent I 1894).--U (UBI) V 5092* and VI 6292* are so in the MS.--The abbreviation chas etc. has erroneously been solved chascon etc. at 1085, 1148, 6461, 6505, 6523, 7190, and 7211; this word is always written chascun etc. when it is spelled out.--Nos VI 6841V is so in the MS.

Consonantism

There are many examples of the fall of final consonants, exclusive of proper names.

L: I chaste 5776; II areste(?) 2092; III i 5812; IV qui (=qu'i) 3226, 3847, de (=del) 3071, 3489 [1st de], 3924, 3990 [2nd de], 4128, 4415, 4439, 4757, chaste 4283, que 4288, i 4336, 4363, si (=s'i) 4437, ne (=nel) 4479; VI de (=del) 6246, 6535, i 6051, 6573, 6790, 7031, si (=s'i) 6636, 7001, il aert (=il i'aert) 7519; VII i 8720; VIII autrete 9438, qui (=qu'i) 9489.

¹GG, map XI.

²Psalter, §49; Dialogue, §49; Lais, p. 299; Menger, p. 69; G III, 93; G II, 54-55; G I, 76.

R: I esgarde 495, joste 799, onneu 1083, parle 1316, enterre 1348, vergie 1564, 1566; III enterre 2591; VI vergie 7487 (+4).

T: I tui 66, per 90, discover 258, aten 890, es 982, par 1727, pren (so MS) 1978, treoien 5719; III benei 5829, dom 7908, 9303; IV fus 2981, cis 3346 (+3), par (so MS) 3696, vi 4089, fio(?) 4096, vien 4110, tan 4153, par 4276, devan 4509; V es 5034, vien 5062; VI pren 6405, fier 6950, lamor (=la mort) 7111, secre 7223, tantos 7509, pren 7540; VIII cors (=cort; the s is inverse) 9473, tantos 9599.

S, Z (not including s of flexion): I le 85, 5713(?), 10174, ain 1261, deden 1706, no 1842, oceïste 5772; III vendroi 2510, me 2531, de 2631, revendroie (=revendroiz) 2894, ver (prep.) 2904, este 8069; IV pui 3358, ne 3378, voi 4479, me 4479, tre 4606; V le 4934, some 4976, me (so MS) 5585; VI de 7161, a 7592; VII le 8994. The fall of final l, r, t, and s appears to have begun in the Northeast and East.¹

Final c has fallen in cler VI 7594, and is unstable in donec (often written don, dont, dons) and avec (written ave 10x).

Special cases--1: aresté II 2092 is probably not derived from AD-REST-OLU; vois III 8345 for voil may be due to the influence of initial s of the following word; qui V 5374 is an acceptable reading, instead of qu'il, cf. 2043; il [vertiroit] VI 5920 is i in the MS; nuliu VI 6273, 7527 may be understood as nu[l] liu; qui VIII 9489 (Br: a qui, P: quil) and i VIII 9588 (Br: il, P: il i) are to be added to the examples of the fall of final i; il eüst VIII 9529 may be for il l'eüst (so P).--r: qa V 4955 should read ca[r] in the text (cf. the variants); su[r] VII 8900 should read en (so MS and P).--t: dont I 166 for donec (cf. donec for dont III 2205) is inconclusive, because c and t are likely to be confused in MSS (there are many examples of such confusion in MS O); fe[t] I 827 is fes in the MS; el es I 982 is written eles in the MS and there are no other cases of el for ele in I; dom (=dout) III 7908, 9303 (cf. VII 9040, VIII 9612, 9857); estoi III 8329 is followed by a word beginning with t; mit IV 4817 for mie is

¹Walloon: Poème moral, §66; Wilmotte, Etudes de philologie wallonne, p. 155--Lorraine: Psalter, §§84, 87, 97, 102--Burgundian: G III, 103, 106, 113, and Girart, §a79--Franc-Comtois: Yzopet, §§a79, 102, and Végece, §79a.

probably a scribal error.--s: pensifz(?) I 5764V is pensif in the MS; encliner III 2709 for enclinez is a scribal error or an example of inverse r for a fallen z; le III 7634, 8472 has two antecedents in both cases (cf. 4934); les [s]aintes IV 3980 should probably read lé saintes, the fall of final s being due to the following initial s; roi(s) VII 8656 is roi in the MS; for -on, see Morphology below.

Inverse spellings--l: nel III 5916 (BrP: ne); il (=i) VI 6014V, 6376 (BrP: i); qu'il (=qui) VIII 9625 (BrP: qui), 9667 (Br: quar il, P: qui).--t: gelt (QUALE) I 532; puist IV 3047, cest IV 4824; pardoint V 5268, soit V 5270.--s: esfrois V 5479, 5619 is due to the confusion of esfroi (<esfreer <*EX-FRID-ARE) and esfrois (<froissier<FRUSTIARE): Br: esfroi, P: esfrois.

The following verb forms are indicative present 3, s having fallen before the following t (i.e. -ist>-it): chosit II 2037, guenchit II 2042, VII 8833, baillit VII 9005. They are not perfect 3 with final t preserved.

All the scribes offer examples of the fall of preconsonantal l. This trait apparently has no dialectal significance.

Preconsonantal r has fallen in the following words, all of which occur in I: covez 259, lagesces 935, cotoise (so MS) 1231, seucot 1577. This trait is not dialectal.¹

There is one example of the fall of preconsonantal r in II: at 2090, the MS reads boiois. Arporter IV 3598 is an inverse spelling. Assimilation of r: I chanbellenc 161 (+1), Pellesvax 458 (+4); V Pellesvaus 4968, paller 5645; VI Mellin 6596 (+1). Dissimilation of r: IV herbegie 4162; VI herbegier 6403 (+4+14); VII aubre 8827, aubroie 8994. In aubaleste I 1695, III 8161, l (later vocalized) has replaced r. In a few words, r has replaced l: V armosne 4965, corpes 5279, gorpil 5496; VIII corpes 9592.

Final n is represented by m in I frain 124 (+2) beside frain 209 (+4), naim 1226 (+9); II Evaim 2167; III naim 2809 (+3); IV naim 3541 (+5) beside nain 4812*; VI som 6794*, Edem 7205. This is an inverse spelling; since m become final in French was regularly dentalized, m might be written for n without affecting thereby the pronunciation. This interchange does not appear to have been limited to any one region.²

¹Pope, §396.

²G I, 81; G II, 61; G III, 108; Poème moral, §42.

Naim VI 6910 is a text error; the MS reads naī here and also at 6972 (nain in the text), while at 6921 the MS has nain. On the other hand, nain VI 6853 should read naim (so MS). The atonic words em (prep.) IV 3022 (+1), (pron.) 3405 (+7) and som 4925* are in each case followed by a word beginning with p. Secondary final n (due to the fall of a final t or s) has become m in: Gurgaram I 1981; dom III 7908, etc.; fe-som VIII 9562. Latin M remains in: som (SUMMU) I 366 (+1), plom I 660, hom I 670, etc.; araim II 2062; etc.

Intervocalic n>gn (g) in III plaige 5837, loigtaige 7969 (+2); IV soutaigne 3582, loigtaignes 3761, maignent (MANENT) 4805, loitegne 4905; V loigtaigne 4979; VI magne (MANNA) 5991, enmaigne (*IN[DE]-MINAT) 6599, fontaigne 7578. This trait is Eastern.¹

Note also regnes (*RETINAS) IV 4424 (+1); ranpogne (Ger. RAMP-+?) V 5395.

Throughout the MS, final s and z are not carefully distinguished. This trait can hardly be considered as peculiarly Picard as late as the middle of the thirteenth century (the probable date of MS Q).

All the scribes have examples of the fall of preconsonantal s. This trait apparently has no dialectal significance.

CA remains in I carchier (carchiee 293, encarcha 1324, etc.), canole 1152 (+1); VI cief 6028, encache (*IN[DE]-CAPTIAT) 6100, ceval 6120, carc(h)ier (carce 6143, carchiez 6265, etc.), senescal 6316, canu 6579, noncaloir 7537. This trait is Norman and Picard.²

Note also trenca III 9342, beside trencha 9377.

-ICARE>-chier: I carchiee 293, carchiez 603 (+1); II [c]archiez 2011; III revenchier 2462, venchier 2837; VI carchier 6265, carchié 6294, carchierent 7152; VII descharchiez 8684; cf. I encarcha 1324, encarche 1343; III venchera 7705; VIII encharche 9786; cf. also V vencheor 5260. Some of the scribes have only

¹Psalter, §95n; Chrétien, p. 179; G III, 107; Végèce, §90. See Bestiaire, pp. lxx ff. for a different explanation of n>gn.

²GG, map IV.

-chier, viz. I, VI, and VIII; III and VII have both -chier and -gier; II has charge 2052; V has vengiez 5253, vengié 5468, reven-gier 5545, venjance 5365, and vengerait 5659 beside vencheor 5260; IV has no examples of -chier. The ch forms are probably due to early syncope.

---ATICU>-ache in III: domache 7859 (+1) beside domage 2593, etc., sauvaches 2257. Pelerinace VI 6289 beside pelerinaje 6373 is probably pelerinache phonetically.

CE, CI, Cj, Tj>ch in VI frequently beside c: merchi(z) 6160 (+18)--so always, Cité 6634 (+6)--so always, douche 6123 and doche 7213 beside douce 6079 (+3) and doce 6101 (+3), corochier (corochoit 5991, corochiez 6011, etc.--so always), fortereche 5932 beside forterece 6042. This trait is Picard, Walloon, and Norman.¹

A single example of ch occurs in II: rechiet 2032 beside re-cet 2037 (+1).

There are a few examples of c>g in initial position or before a liquid: I aengree (*AD-ANCORATA) 10151; III galices (CALICES) 7865; IV bougle (BUCCULA) 2971 (+2), bogle 3225 (+2); VI bougle 7135, galice 7222 (+2); VIII ongle (AVUNCULU) 9644 beside oncle(s) 9648 (+8).

In oras (CRASSU) I 669 (+1), c is preserved. In claive I 1356, 1762 beside glaive 1333, etc. c is probably due to Celtic CLADEVO.

AQUA>iaue I 751 (+8), aigue I 1540*, VI 5963 (+10), eue(s) II 2063*, III 2267 (+8), IV 3147*, V 5402*, VII 9113*. Although all these forms are known to the literary language,² they are ultimately of dialectal origin: iaue is Northern, Northeastern, and Champenois; aigue Southern; and eue (eve) Western.³

The following corrections may be noted here: desahivent I 380; aïva IV 4335, desaïverent IV 4424.⁴

¹Auc., §10.

²VT, §58a.

³Pope, §§330; 540.

⁴FEW, I, 28; Afrz. W., I, 265.

All the scribes show the epenthetic consonant in the following combinations: m'l, m'r, and s'r. In the case of l'r: I, II, and V always insert d; III, IV, VI, and VIII insert or omit; and VII always omits. In the case of n'r: I, III, and V always insert d; IV, VI, VII, and VIII insert or omit; and II affords no examples. The frequent absence of epenthetic d indicates Picard-Walloon influence, but its alternate presence and absence is well known in the East and Southeast.¹

The number of examples showing the presence or absence of epenthetic d are as follows: lr--d present: III 33, IV 14, VI 15, VIII 4; lr--d absent: III 3, IV 12, VI 17, VII 12, VIII 1; nr--d present: IV 19, VI 22, VII 4, VIII 6; nr--d absent: IV 14, VI 24, VII 7, VIII 4.--Penre I 1468 is a text error: the MS reads prē, at 1956 and 5770 prēdre; therefore, the text should read pren[dre]; cf. prendre 1994, which is written out in the MS. Apenre IV 3865 and penre VII 8648 are so in the MS.--Disrent III 8009 appears to be disient (=disoient) in the MS; cf. provire for provoire II 2148; also enpliē I 9950; III always writes distrent.--Note descoustre III 8330, with t instead of the more usual d.

The intertonic vowel is retained as a supporting vowel in I perceveroiz 355, prenderiez 670, vivera 936, prendera 1109, meteroiz 1194, croistera 1512, deveriez 1599, averoit 5791; IV mouveroit 4086; VII averoient 8565, prenderoit 8568, deveriez 8625, meteroit 8997, isteront 9096. In paretir VII 8644, a supporting vowel has been introduced. This trait is Picard.²

Metathesis: I porfitables(?) 12, gerroie 814 (the text should read en gerroie), enterra 831 (MS: ent'ra), gerniax 1008 (+2), gernel 1700; III pernez 2349 (+1), cerrai 5825 beside crera 7959; IV entrepernoie 4462; V dagron 5455 (+2); VI pernez (MS: pnez; the text is in error) 6080, 6760, espernoient (MS: espnoi-ent) 6277, querriez (=crieriez) 6327, espreviers (MS esp'uiers)

¹SB, §186R; G III, 105, 110-12.

²Meyer-Lübke, I, §388.

7046; pernent (MS pnēt; the text is in error) 7513; VII querroie (= qreroie) 9216. This trait is Picard.¹

Note also: I overra 475, mosterré 647, 1750, oterrez 744, en-terra 831; III recoverra 2453, enterra 2476, liverront 8079, enconterroie 8290; IV souferroie 3805; VII soferrai 8770, r'enterrez 8990, enterrai 9088, demoerra 9140, deliverroit 9218; and with rr reduced: III soferé 2665, soferai 8033, mosteroie 8073; V recouveroiz 5252.

FILIUS gives the following spellings in the MS: filz I, V, and VII always, VIII lx; filx II lx; fiuz III always, VIII 5x; fiz IV always, VIII lx; fix VI 4x; file VI lx. The inverse spelling crocefilz V 5102 may have some bearing on the phonetic value of the spellings cited above, viz. = [fi?]. --L>r in angre(s) (ANGELU) III 2328 (+3) and ydres (IDOLA+8?) III 8537. Suchier says of the former that it is a widespread old popular form.² --N>r in ymagre(s) III 2337 (+1) beside ymage(s) III 2236 (+3) probably through dissimilation. --Note enrachier (EXRADICARE) III 2493; enracha IV 4640, and encient (SCIENDO) IV 3804 (+2). Mesra VI 6406 (= menra VI 6375) is an inverse spelling. --Godefroy (V, 134-35) cites many parallels of manandie (MANANTIA) VIII 9673. --Pule (POPULU) IV 3528 is Picard, Walloon, and Lorrain.³ --Amedeus IV 5000 shows assimilation of the labial; see Godefroy (I, 286) for other examples. --W in witimes I 50 is apparently a spelling device (u might be taken for v). In wuide VI 6658 and wide VII 8631, it is difficult to explain the w; the latter may be identical with the modern Picard form.⁴ --Vr(v<B, P)>r in IV arez 3923* beside avrez 3204, etc.; and VI ara 6017 (+4+13) beside avra 6773 (+3+5), sarez 6090 (+1+4) beside savrez 6339 (+2+2). This trait is Picard and also Lorrain, Southeast Champenois, and Burgundian.⁵ There are several inverse spellings in VI: reçoivre 6186, avresprer 6907, 7569 (so MS), provroires 7302. Desoivrent IV 4444 is complete in the MS (desoivent). --Arde-ment I 46* indicates the loss of aspirate h. Non-etymological h in I huis 213 (+1) beside uis 210 (+8), huevo 213 (+1), and hués (OPUS) 1975 beside ués 5732 is probably a spelling device, because it occurs in each case before u. In VI habundance 5949 (+2) may have been influenced by HABERE, while habismes 6598 beside abisme 6575 is probably a real case of non-etymological h.

¹Auc., §14.

²Reimpredigt, p. 66.

³Auc., §16.

⁴Atlas linguistique, map 1384.

⁵Auc., 10, 70; 40, 18; Voeux, §95; G III, 116.

MORPHOLOGY

Articles

Masculine oblique lo: II 2x, III 3x, VI 44x; le occurs also. The MS was copied about the middle of the thirteenth century; therefore, lo is dialectal rather than archaic: it is found in the East, South, and Southeast.¹ The contracted forms present considerable variety; they are here listed in order of their importance: du I always, III; del II, III, IV, V always, VII always, VIII; dou III, IV, VI always; do (so MS) VI 6454*, VIII 9648*; deu (so MS) II 2025*, III 8090, 8379; eu III, VI; o I always, IV, VI 6742*; el II always, III 8448*, IV, V always, VI, VII always, VIII; ou III 2926*, IV, VI.

In VI, e and o are often difficult to distinguish; there may be more examples of lo, e.g. 6096, 7081.--The nominative masculine in place of the oblique is of frequent occurrence.--A single example of del occurs in I (1647); MS C agrees but Br reads de cest and F reads de cel.

Feminine nominative li: V 5061*, VI 2x is Picard, Walloon, Eastern, and Southeastern.² Feminine oblique le: IV 4646*, VI 3x is especially Picard and Walloon.³

Personal Pronouns

Masculine oblique lo: II 2077*, III 5849*; this form is Eastern, Southeastern, and Southwestern.⁴ Note also no I 26x and nou VI 2x; the other scribes write nel.

Li at II 2047, III 2834, 5847 is a text error; the MS reads le. N'eu III 7779 should read n'en.--Mi I 1676 and III 2848 should read m'i.

¹SB, §333R.

³SB, §333R.

²SB III, §59; G III, 121.

⁴SB, §323R; G I, 106.

Feminine nominative el: I 982*, III 8410*, IV 7x, VI 10x, VIII 18x; these scribes also write ele. Feminine oblique le I 3x, II 2x, IV 2x, VI 4x, VII 2x, VIII 5x is Picard and Walloon.¹ Feminine oblique stressed lui occurs at II 2137*, III 2x, IV 5x, VI 5980*, and, inversely, masculine oblique stressed li at II 2x, IV 14x, VI 13x, VII 8997*, VIII 7x. Similarly, cesti (m.) I 1525*, cestui (f.) IV 3786*, celi (m.) VIII 4x.

There are a few examples of feminine nominative plural il: III 2240 (so Br; eles CP), III 2436 (eles C; not in BrP), IV 4833 (so C; eles BrP), VI 6270 (eles BeBr; ele [venoit] P).

Possessive Adjectives and Pronouns

In IV, se seror 4894 followed a few lines below by sa se-ror 4898 may be dialectal (Picard-Walloon),² because no 3240 (masculine oblique singular), 3589 (masculine nominative singular), a Picard-Walloon form,³ also occurs. Note also vos (masculine nominative singular) VI 6936.--Voz (masculine oblique plural tonic) V 5398 and vos (feminine oblique plural tonic) VI 6878 may be noted here. Lors VIII 9604 is so in the MS; at VI 7241, it is a text error (MS: lor).

Mi sire IV 3142 should be read as one word, Misire.

Demonstrative Pronouns

Ciz (=cist+s) I 1083 (masculine nominative singular) and cis IV 3547 (so MS) is Picard-Walloon.⁴

Go V 5135 is a text error; the MS reads oe.

Relative Pronouns

Que for qui: I 1361(?), IV 3843, V 5141, VI 5916, 6248, 6287, 7018, VII 8698.

¹SB, §323R.

²SB, §327R.

³SB, §329R.

⁴SB, §331, 2R.

Qui for que IV 4579 is a text error; the MS reads q̄. Que for qui III 5825, VI 6323 is a text error; the MS reads qui(q̄).

Verbs

Analogical -e in first person singular, indicative present: garde I 1669; desire(?) III 8235 (cf. desir IV 3168); conpere VIII 9900.

At 9900, Br reads conper, and P conpere--this is not conperé (fut. 1), because P never reduces ai to e.

First person plural in -on is found in indicative present and future (III, IV, VI, VIII), conditional (III), subjunctive present and imperfect (IV, VI); -ons also occurs, except in VI. The -on ending is characteristic of the Western dialects,¹ but in our MS may also be explained as due to the fall of final s.

Atendomes IV 3086 beside atendon IV 3167 is Picard-Walloon, but is also sporadic in the East.²

Second person plural, subjunctive present, in -oiz occurs in I 992*, III 24x, IV 3049*, V 3x. This ending continued to be used especially in the East.³ Second person plural, subjunctive imperfect, in -oiz occurs in III 11x and V 2x.

Encontrasiez IV 3141* is a text error; the MS reads encontrisiez; cf. aidisiez V 5313. Veïssiez IV 4018 is ueissiez in the MS.

Third person singular, indicative imperfect, first conjugation, in -out: III amenout 7673*, amout 8216*. This form is archaic and not dialectal, according to Miss Wacker.⁴ Senblot V 5138* is probably an example of oi>o.

¹Pope, §894.

²SB III, §63; Poème moral, §70; G III, 20-21.

³SB III, §66; Chrétien, p. 213; Voeux, §89; Yzopet, §127.

⁴Über das Verhältnis von Dialekt und Schriftsprache im Altfranzösischen, pp. 74 ff.

Second person plural, future, in -oiz occurs in I, II always, III always, IV 4282*, V, and VIII. This ending is Eastern.¹

Avriens V 5116* beside avrions V 5349* is Northern or Eastern.²

The third person plural has been written instead of the third person singular in the following cases: I decoiroient 34; IV avoient 3393 (avoit BrCP), troevent 3625, dient 4001; V enmeinent 5329; VI benefient 5986; VII estoient 8745; VIII s'asieent 9606, gardent 9717. The reverse has taken place in the following cases: II jouoit 2038, entre 2120; IV part 3145, revient 3381, vient 3588, estoit 3630, 3871, chevauche 3822, ose 4126; VI estoit 6888.

Individual Verbs

I dire: deïmes 1508; estre: iere (fut. 1) 990* beside seré 652 (+2); laier: let (ind. ps. 3) 401 (+3) beside lest 1762*; morir: morist 1904*; pooir: poïsse 830, poïst 85, poïssiez 327; suïr 1511 (+1): poraui (p.p.) 5673; voloir: velt 385, volt 186*(?), vielt 1688*.

II arester: arestut (pf. 3) 2091; consuivre 2098.

III croire: oreï (pf. 3) 7864, oreïrent (so MS) 5799; dire: deent 9447* beside dient 9351; estre: fussient 5802, 8507³ beside fussent 2478 (+3), essera 8040 beside seront 2224 (+0+3), eseroie 9283,⁴ esteroit 7820⁵ beside seroient 2222 (+1+6); laier: lait 5836*; pooir: poent 7757 beside puent 7760*, puisse 2293 (+2) beside puist 2723 (+3), poïsse 2383, poïst 2311, poïssioiz 7991; siure 9417: siout 2553 beside consut 9373, consiui (pf. 3) 5879 beside consuï 7646; voloir: volt (ind. ps. 3) 2273, 8311, voille (sbj. ps. 3) 2516.

¹Voeux, §99; Chrétien, p. 213; G III, 62; Yzopet, §127.

²SB III, §65.

³SB, §343R.

⁴Godefroy, III, 644c-45a.

⁵Ibid.

IV conquerre: conquesistes 4241; dire: desistes 3611;
estre: iere 3311 (+3) and ere 4513 (+1) beside serai 3364 (+1),
esteroit 3853¹ beside seroit 3060 (+7), esteriez 4139; laier:
lait 3397* beside let 4529*; pooir: pot (ind. ps. 3?) 3516*, puent
4429, puisse 2968* beside puist 3309 (+7), poisse 4027, poist
3297, poissent 4877; prendre: (prise 3350 is a text error; the
MS reads prise = preisse); sioir 4807: sieut 3988, siue (subj. ps.
1) 4825, sioe (subj. ps. 3) 4045, consioi (pf. 3) 3118; soloir:
sot (pf. 3) 4147; tolir 3442: tolét 3209 (+1) beside toloit 3837*
and tolu 4055 (+1); voloir: voil 3177 (+12) beside vol 4020*.

V beneïr: benoïst (ind. ps. 3) 5090; estre: some 4976 be-
side sonmes 5112; pooir: puent 5322, puisse 5479* beside puist
5038 (+2), peüst 5124 (+2) beside pouïst 5339 (+2); siure: siut
5201, consit (ind. ps. 3) 5599; tolir 4987: tolu 5204 (+2), tolue
5274 (+2) beside toloite 5272*; voloir: volent 5464.

VI aler: alez (subj. ps. 5) 6288 beside ailiez 6372, 7485
(so MS); conquerre: conquesist 6567; croire: creïst (subj. impf.
3) 5969; estre: sonmes 6711 beside sunmes 6932, iere (fut. 1)
6780 (+1), esterez 6778 (+0+2)² beside serez 6079 (+1+9); faire:
faiz (ind. ps. 1) 7278; laier: lait (ind. ps. 3) 6162 (+5), lait
(subj. ps. 3) 6092*; ocire: oceïstes 6680 (+4) beside ocesistes
7053*; pooir: pot (ind. ps. 3?) 6667*, poent 6474 (+3--so MS at
7116), puist 6077, peüse 7542, peüst 5929 (+1), peüsiez 6503,
poissent 6403 beside peüsient 6625; prendre: praigne 7093, preignon
6550; savoir: sot 5920 (+7) beside sout 6635 (+3) and seut 7110
(+1); sentir: sentu (p.p.) 6417 beside senti 6423; soïr 7564:
siut 6096, consuit 7075, consiut 7134, souïsent 7564; soloir:
sout (pf. 3) 6559; venir: vint (ind. ps. 3) 6461*, sovint (ind.
ps. 3) 6815*; voloir: volent 6902 beside vuelent 7151.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

VII estre: estiemes (ind. impf. 4) 8742;¹ laier: lait 8777 (+1); pooir: puist 8702, poist 8643; prendre: praigne 8702; siure: consiuf (pf. 3) 8648; venir: vaigne 8604, vaigniez 8709; voloir: voell 8601, velt 8625, voelent 9099, voelle (sbj. ps. 3) 8595, voellent (sbj. ps. 6) 8957.

VIII estre: iere (fut. 1) 9514 (+1), ert (fut. 3) 9491 (+2) beside iert 9501* and sera 9916*, esteroiz 9623 (+2) beside esseroiz 9631*,² esseroit 9477 (+1) beside esteroit 9682* and estroit 9919*; laier: lest (ind. ps. 3) 9760*; pooir; poist 9555, poissent 9583; siure: suf (p.p.) 9529; veoir: veïsmes 9563; voloir: vuel 9512* beside vueil 9527 (+1), vueil (pf. 1) 9903*.

¹SB, §341R.

²Godefroy, III, 644c-45a.

CONCLUSION

While the language of MS Q is fundamentally koiné, it is sprinkled with dialectal spellings. The dialectal coloring is mixed and differs from one scribe to another, but each has at least one trait from every region of the langue d'oïl. It is impossible to test the spellings, moreover, since we have to do with a prose text.

The Northern, Northeastern, and Eastern traits stand out in this dialectal mélange, especially in those portions of the text copied by the more important scribes (I, III, IV, and VI). Is it not possible that in addition to the Norman (before 1200) and Picard influence (after 1200) demonstrated by Miss Wacker, that the other regions left their mark on the literary language as it extended its boundaries?

If this assumption be correct, it is impossible to draw from the heterogeneous dialectal spellings found in Q positive conclusions as to the provenience of the MS. It is improbable that Q was copied in the West, because the Western traits are relatively few in number (it is striking that there are no examples of E>ei), and those which occur are for the most part also known to other regions. It is improbable also that Q was copied in England, because the characteristic Anglo-Norman spellings do not appear. The most that the evidence permits us to say is that Q was executed in some large scriptorium in the North, Northeast, or East of France.

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